

HART-TEETER
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Interviews: 1005 adults
Dates: January 17-19, 1998

47 Male
53 Female
[109]

FINAL

Study #4086
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ARE	TYPE	SAM	FORM	DAT	
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[258]	[259]	[260]	[261]	[262]	[263]
			[110]	[312]	[313]

1. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>1/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>High</u> <u>2/91+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	47	48	44	48	44	43	65	14	[119]
Wrong track.....	34	35	39	36	40	40	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	16	13	14	12	12	14	9	9	
Not sure.....	3	4	3	4	4	3	4	6	

+ Asked only of registered voters

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>1/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/97</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>6/93</u>	
Approve.....	62	59	57	62	56	58	62	41	[120]
Disapprove.....	30	33	34	29	36	33	29	50	
Not sure.....	8	8	9	9	8	9	9	9	

- 2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>1/98*</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>High</u> <u>10/97</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/93</u>	<u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	65	64	65	64	62	60	65	40	40	[121]
Disapprove.....	25	27	25	28	29	32	25	51	51	
Not sure.....	10	9	10	8	9	8	10	9	9	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>1/98**</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>High</u> <u>1/97</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	54	52	49	50	51	53	57	32	[122]

Disapprove.....	34	38	37	34	37	34	34	60
Not sure.....	12	10	14	16	12	13	9	8

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and organizations, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Pope John Paul the Second							[123]
January 1998.....	42	23	23	4	3	5	
Bill Clinton							[124]
January 1998.....	21	36	15	13	15	-	
December 1997.....	21	34	16	13	15	1	
October 1997.....	21	30	16	15	17	1	
September 1997.....	24	32	17	13	13	1	
July 1997.....	26	30	13	14	16	1	
June 1997.....	20	31	17	15	16	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
Newt Gingrich							[125]
January 1998.....	6	17	26	21	25	5	
December 1997.....	7	17	24	18	29	5	
October 1997.....	4	18	24	21	27	6	
September 1997.....	5	14	20	21	33	7	
July 1997.....	4	14	22	25	29	6	
June 1997.....	6	15	18	25	30	6	
<i>High</i>							
April 21-25, 1995.....	11	20	18	13	23	15	
<i>Low</i>							
July 1997.....	4	14	22	25	29	6	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[126]
January 1998.....	20	25	21	16	16	2	
December 1997.....	18	26	23	14	17	2	
October 1997.....	20	25	23	13	17	2	
September 1997.....	19	26	18	15	20	2	
July 1997.....	16	23	21	16	23	1	
June 1997.....	22	26	15	15	20	2	
April 1997.....	18	26	18	14	22	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
<i>Low</i>							
May 1996+.....	14	20	19	17	27	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

Q.3 (cont'd.)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Janet Reno							[127]
January 1998.....	15	28	24	13	13	7	
December 1997.....	14	27	25	16	13	5	
October 1997.....	13	26	25	14	13	9	
April 1997.....	14	31	21	15	9	10	
July 1995.....	11	25	21	15	15	13	
January 1994.....	13	24	20	11	11	21	
June 1993.....	18	20	18	8	5	31	
Al Gore							[128]
January 1998.....	13	26	29	16	12	4	
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	
October 1997.....	10	27	28	15	17	3	
September 1997.....	13	25	24	18	15	5	
July 1997.....	16	33	23	11	14	3	
June 1997.....	18	28	25	13	12	4	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	
October 1997.....	10	27	28	15	17	3	
The Republican Party							[129]
January 1998.....	9	29	30	18	12	2	
December 1997.....	9	27	30	19	13	2	
September 1997.....	11	25	29	20	13	2	
July 1997.....	8	29	31	19	11	2	
March 1997.....	10	30	27	19	12	2	
January 1997.....	10	32	26	20	11	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1995.....	17	33	25	13	9	3	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1997.....	11	25	29	20	13	2	
The Democratic Party							[130]
January 1998.....	13	30	30	16	9	2	
December 1997.....	14	31	25	16	12	2	
September 1997.....	13	28	28	18	11	2	
July 1997.....	12	29	30	16	11	2	
March 1997.....	11	29	28	18	12	2	
January 1997.....	16	31	24	17	11	1	
<i>High</i>							
October 20-21, 1992+.....	19	29	22	15	12	3	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1994.....	10	23	25	24	16	2	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

4. What would you say are the **two or three** most important issues or problems facing the nation today that you personally would like to see the federal government in Washington do something about?

	1/98	1/97	12/95	1/95	1/94	1/93	
<u>ECONOMY</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>48</u>	
Economy generally.....	NA	11	10	6	9	22	[131]
Farm problems, agriculture, drought.....	1	1	1	-	1	-	>
Inflation, prices.....	2	1	1	2	2	2	
Interest rates.....	2	-	1	-	-	1	
Jobs, unemployment.....	10	12	16	13	20	25	
New industry needed.....	1	-	1	-	1	1	
Trade, limit imports ¹	1	1	-	1	1	2	
Trade, expand exports ¹	1	-	-	NA	NA	NA	
Wages, better jobs.....	5	3	3	2	2	2	
Financial problems in Asia.....	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Other economic issues.....	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
<u>FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	
Defense spending--cut defense budget.....	1	1	1	-	1	1	[132]
Defense--strengthen.....	4	2	1	2	2	1	>
Foreign aid--reduce.....	4	2	3	4	3	2	
Foreign policy.....	3	3	3	3	3	4	
Middle East, Iraq.....	6	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Russia, former Soviet republics.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race.....	2	1	2	1	1	2	
Bosnia, Serbia, Yugoslavia.....	1	-	3	-	1	1	
<u>CRIME/DRUGS</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>13</u>	
Gun control--against.....	2	1	1	1	3	-	[133]
Gun control--for.....	3	2	2	2	5	1	>
TV violence.....	2	1	1	-	1	NA	
Crime, violence.....	14	22	33	30	33	9	
Drugs.....	7	12	8	7	11	6	
<u>TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>37</u>	
Budget deficit.....	6	13	13	13	7	24	[134]
Government waste, mismanagement.....	4	4	5	6	5	5	>
Taxes--too high.....	7	7	4	9	5	6	
Taxes--unfair.....	3	2	3	4	1	4	
Government spending.....	3	3	3	3	NA	NA	
Government too big ²	2	1	2	NA	NA	NA	
More control over IRS, regulation.....	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
<u>SOCIAL PROGRAMS</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>35</u>	
Children, day care ³	3	1	2	1	1	2	[135]
Education, schools.....	22	23	24	13	14	14	>
Welfare, reform ⁴	10	19	12	25	6	3	
Homelessness, housing.....	8	6	5	9	13	13	
Poverty, social services ⁵	6	4	5	5	4	3	
AIDS.....	1	-	1	1	1	3	
Social Security, senior citizens.....	9	14	7	6	2	3	
Other social issues.....	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	

¹ Prior to December 1995, trade was listed as one item, and was titled "trade, imports."

² Prior to January 1997, category was titled "less government/interference in our lives."

³ Prior to January 1995, the category was titled "child care, day care."

⁴ Prior to January 1995, welfare reform was included in the taxes/government spending group instead of the social problems group.

⁵ Prior to December 1995, the category was titled "poverty, social services."

Q.4. (cont'd.)

	<u>1/98</u>	<u>1/97</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
HEALTH CARE ⁶	<u>17</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>38</u>	
Cost.....	7	7	6	14	21	NA	[134]
Access.....	5	6	5	11	13	NA	>
Quality.....	3	5	3	5	6	NA	
Medicare.....	6	8	NA	NA	NA	NA	
OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>	
Abortion--pro-choice.....	1	2	1	1	1	4	[135]
Abortion--pro-life.....	3	3	2	3	2	5	>
Censorship, limiting free speech.....	1	-	1	-	1	1	
Morality, values, TV shows.....	4	5	8	3	4	3	
Favor prayer in school.....	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Racism, values.....	4	3	3	2	2	1	
Environment, pollution, toxic wastes.....	3	4	2	2	2	3	
Government corruption/ethics in government ⁷	4	2	3	2	2	NA	
Campaign finance reform.....	-	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Reforming Congress.....	1	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Control immigration, reduce immigration ⁸	2	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Other	2	2	4	5	3	2	
None/not sure	3	3	6	4	4	3	

⁶ Prior to January 1995, category was titled "Health care, costs," and was not broken out into cost, access, and quality components.⁷ Prior to January 1997, the category was titled "government corruption."⁸ Prior to January 1998, the category was titled "illegal immigration."

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>1/98*</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>High</u> <u>7/97</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>10/90+</u>	
Approve.....	47	46	46	45	48	44	48	22	[143]
Disapprove.....	32	40	41	40	37	44	37	69	
Not sure.....	21	14	13	15	15	12	15	9	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked of registered voters.

5b. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Newt Gingrich is doing as speaker of the House of Representatives?

	<u>1/98**</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>High</u> <u>4/21-25/95</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>11/95</u>	
Approve.....	34	31	31	32	29	29	45	27	[144]
Disapprove.....	37	53	52	54	57	57	36	60	
Not sure.....	29	16	17	14	14	14	19	13	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

6. Who do you want to see take the lead role in setting policy for the country--President Clinton or the Congress?

	<u>1/98**</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/97</u>	<u>12/96</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94+</u>	
President Clinton.....	28	35	35	38	34	38	33	31	30	[145]
Congress.....	49	43	45	44	43	44	54	55	55	
Shared/equal role (VOL) ..	17	14	12	12	18	14	6	8	11	
Neither (VOL).....	4	4	5	3	2	2	3	2	1	
Not sure.....	2	4	3	3	3	2	4	4	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

7a/b. As President Clinton prepares to deliver his State of the Union address, there are many important issues facing the country. Let me read you a list of some of these issues and, for each one, please tell me if you think this should be an absolute priority for the Clinton Administration and this year's Congress or something that can be delayed until next year. (READ ITEM) Do you think this issue should be an absolute priority for the Clinton Administration and this year's Congress, or is this something that can be delayed until next year?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY ABSOLUTE PRIORITY FOR THIS YEAR

	Absolute Priority For <u>This Year</u>	Can Be Delayed Until <u>Next Year</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Reforming the Social Security system*	77	19	4	[150]
Reforming the Medicare system**	77	21	2	[154]
Achieving a balanced budget*	76	22	2	[147]
Expanding federal support for public education**	72	26	2	[152]
Extending tax credits for child care*	65	29	6	[148]
Cutting taxes**	58	39	3	[153]
Passing a campaign finance reform bill				[151]
<i>January 1998**</i>	45	52	3	
<i>January 1994</i>	32	59	9	
Finalizing the proposed settlement reached last year between the nation's state attorneys general and the big tobacco companies*	40	50	10	[149]
Giving the President "fast track" authority to negotiate more free trade agreements*	31	61	8	[146]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

8a. In general, do you feel that President Clinton's approach to governing has been to give too much responsibility to the federal government, or to move too much responsibility away from the federal government, or do you feel that he has achieved the right balance?

Approach gives too much responsibility	25	[155]
Approach moves too much responsibility	14	
Approach has achieved the right balance	46	
Not sure	15	

8b. In the past month, President Clinton has proposed new initiatives, including toughening food inspection, expanding the Peace Corps, promoting pension tax breaks, expanding the coverage for child care, and allowing some people over age fifty-five to purchase Medicare coverage.

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the initiatives that the President has proposed? *

Approve.....	79	[156]
Disapprove.....	14	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 8c. In the past month, President Clinton has proposed new initiatives, including toughening food inspection, expanding the Peace Corps, promoting pension tax breaks, expanding the coverage for child care, and allowing some people over age fifty-five to purchase Medicare coverage.

Do you feel that these Clinton administration initiatives mean that the federal government is taking on too much responsibility, or not?**

Yes, federal government will have too much responsibility.....	35	[157]
No, the federal government will not have too much responsibility.....	60	
Not sure.....	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 9a. How well do you feel that you know who Al Gore is as a person and what he stands for -- do you feel that you know who he is a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?**

Know a great deal.....	7	[158]
Know quite a bit.....	16	
Know just some.....	35	
Know very little.....	35	
Know nothing at all (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	1	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 9b. From what you know, do you agree more with Bill Clinton and the Democrats **OR** more with the Republicans in Congress on the issue of the federal budget?

	<u>1/98</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>11/95</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	
Clinton and Democrats.....	42	46	43	44	44	49	38	38	38	[159]
Republicans in Congress..	33	36	38	39	41	37	41	44	41	
Both equal (VOL).....	9	5	5	6	4	4	5	4	4	
Not sure.....	16	13	14	11	11	10	16	14	17	

10. With the strong economy, budget experts are saying that it will be possible to balance the federal budget within the next year. Do you feel that this probably will or will not occur?**

Yes, the budget will be balanced within the next year.....	22	[160]
No, the budget will not be balanced within the next year.....	74	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

11. As you may know, experts say the federal budget will be balanced within the next year. Setting aside the solid economy, who do you think deserves the most political credit for balancing the federal budget --the Bush Administration, the Clinton Administration, the Democrats in Congress, or the Republicans in Congress?*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

The Clinton Administration.....	24	
The Republicans in Congress.....	20	[161]
The Bush Administration.....	11	
The Democrats in Congress.....	11	
All of these (VOL).....	11	
Not sure.....	23	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

12. The federal government will have a surplus of funds sometime in the next few years. For which one of the following would you like to see the surplus funds used--reducing the national debt, improving funding for needed government programs, or providing an across-the-board tax cut?*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Reducing the national debt.....	41	[162]
Providing across-the-board tax cut.....	34	
Improving funding for needed government programs....	18	
All (VOL).....	3	
None/other (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	1	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 13a. As part of last year's proposed tobacco settlement, the big tobacco companies would pay the government more than three hundred billion dollars. For which one of the following would you like to see these funds used -- reducing the national debt, providing an across-the-board tax cut, expanding children's health care coverage, or reforming the Social Security and Medicare systems?*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Reforming the Social Security and Medicare systems...	36	
Expanding children's health care coverage.....	27	[163]
Reducing the national debt.....	16	
Providing across-the-board tax cuts.....	9	
All (VOL).....	6	
None/other (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	1	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 13b. If the decision were made to give surplus funds back to the taxpayers in the form of a tax cut, which of these do you think is the better approach-- an overall tax cut in income tax rates for all taxpayers, **OR** targeted tax cuts for specific groups of people or purposes?*

Overall cut in income tax rates.....	66	[164]
Targeted tax cuts for specific people/purposes.....	26	
Both equal (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 13c. President Clinton has proposed giving tax breaks to help parents pay for child care and granting more money to states to improve child-care programs. He says these policies are necessary to help the increasing number of working parents get good-quality child care. Republicans say his proposals are wrong because they would involve government too deeply in child care and

encourage women to choose to work rather than to stay at home. Who do you agree with more on this issue -- President Clinton or the Republicans?*

Agree with President Clinton.....	58	[165]
Agree with the Republicans.....	32	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

14a. If the decision were made to cut taxes this year, would you prefer to reduce income tax rates for all taxpayers or to reduce Social Security and Medicare payroll taxes?*

Reduce income tax rates for all taxpayers.....	64	[166]
Reduce Social Security/Medicare payroll taxes.....	25	
Both equal (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

14b. What is your reaction to a proposal to eliminate all federal income and payroll taxes and replace them with a new national sales tax of twenty-three percent -- is this something you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose?*

Strongly favor.....	10	[167]
Somewhat favor.....	23	
Somewhat oppose.....	22	
Strongly oppose.....	32	
Not sure.....	13	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

15. Do you believe Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>1/98*</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government Democrat.	27	35	33	33	41	37	[168]
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat.....	57	57	58	58	50	54	
Not sure.....	16	8	9	9	9	9	
			<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>10/92+</u>	
			38	42	29	35	
			54	47	60	56	
			8	11	11	9	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 16a. What is your preference for the outcome of the November 1998¹ congressional elections - a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	<u>1/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>11/96+</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	
Republican-controlled Congress.....	40	41	41	45	44	44	42	[169]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	42	37	39	39	38	40	40	
Not sure ²	18	22	20	16	18	16	18	
			<u>9/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94¹</u>	
			42	40	41	42	44	
			41	40	38	41	38	
			17	20	21	17	18	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

¹ In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

² Previously, the volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

- 16b. In this year's election for U.S. House of Representatives, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean at this time?

	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>10/96</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>8/20- 21/96+</u>	<u>8/2- 6/96+</u>	<u>7/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>5/96+</u>	[170]
Vote for the Republican candidate.	30	29	38	36	37	38	37	35	36	
Vote for the Democratic candidate	36	36	39	42	38	38	40	40	39	
Depends (VOL).....	22	18	8	7	11	10	10	10	9	
Other/neither/won't vote (VOL)....	3	4	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	9	13	14	13	12	12	12	14	14	
	<u>3/96</u>	<u>12/95¹</u>	<u>11/4- 5/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
	36	34	40	39	33	31	30	29	34	
	38	36	37	36	39	35	35	34	32	
	12	17	6	6	9	14	14	21	21	
	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	2	2	
	11	10	14	14	14	15	16	14	11	
	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>11/92+</u>	<u>10/27- 28/92+</u>	<u>10/20- 21/92+</u>	<u>9/92+</u>	<u>8/92+</u>	<u>7/92+</u>	<u>10/90+</u>	
	29	31	35	34	29	32	29	31	33	
	32	32	45	45	46	43	43	35	35	
	24	25	4	3	6	7	7	11	14	
	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	
	13	9	15	17	17	17	19	20	16	

¹ Prior to March 1996, the question read "election for U.S. Congress. . . ."

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 16c. If there were two candidates running for Congress, and Candidate A emphasized the need to cut taxes, and Candidate B emphasized the need to increase spending for education and child care, which candidate would you be more likely to support?

More likely to support candidate A.....	39	[171]
More likely to support candidate B.....	55	
Not sure.....	6	

- 16d. Which of the following best represents your views about abortion--the choice on abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor, abortion should be legal only in cases where pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when the life of the woman is at risk, or abortion should be illegal in all circumstances?

	<u>1/98</u>	<u>8/96</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>5/96+</u>	<u>3/96</u>	
The choice on abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor. .	60	56	58	55	56	[172]
Abortion should be legal only in cases where pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when the life of the woman is at risk.....	26	30	31	35	31	
Abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.....	11	12	9	7	10	
Not sure.....	3	2	2	3	3	
		<u>12/95</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>7/90</u>	
		60	60	57	57	
		28	31	36	33	
		10	8	7	8	
		2	1	-	2	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 16e. If a candidate for Congress favored "allowing late-term, partial-birth abortions," would this make you more likely or less likely to support that candidate, or would it make little difference to you either way?

More likely to support candidate.....	7	[173]
Less likely to support candidate.....	51	
Makes little difference either way.....	37	
Not sure.....	5	

- 16f. As you may know, Paula Jones has filed a lawsuit claiming that President Clinton sexually harassed her when he was governor of Arkansas and she was a state employee. From what you know, do you believe Paula Jones' allegations of sexual harassment against President Clinton, or not?

	<u>1/98*</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	
Believe Paula Jones' allegations.....	27	35	33	[174]
Do not believe Paula Jones' allegations.....	50	48	45	
Not sure.....	23	17	22	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 16g. In your opinion, do you think that the lawyers for President Clinton should try to settle the Paula Jones lawsuit without going to trial, even if the President did nothing wrong?

	<u>1/98**</u>	<u>10/97</u>	
Yes, should try to settle the lawsuit.....	37	42	[175]
No, should not try to settle the lawsuit.....	50	48	
Not sure ¹	13	10	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

¹Previously, the volunteered response "some of both" was reported separately; for purposes of comparative it is combined with "not sure."

- 17a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	17	[176]
Not very strong Democrat.....	11	SKIP TO Q.17c
Independent/lean Democrat.....	14	
Strictly independent.....	20	SKIP TO Q.18
Independent/lean Republican.....	12	
Not very strong Republican.....	10	CONTINUE
Strong Republican.....	11	
Other.....	4	SKIP TO Q.18
Not sure/nothing.....	1	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE REPUBLICANS IN Q.17a.)

- 17b. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Republican nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Republican primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	All Republicans				
	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	
Texas Governor George W. Bush.....	26	24	20	24	[177]
Jack Kemp.....	16	14	14	17	
Elizabeth Dole.....	14	14	15	16	
Steve Forbes.....	10	11	7	8	
Dan Quayle.....	6	7	10	9	
Pat Buchanan.....	6	4	4	6	
Newt Gingrich.....	5	4	5	NA	
Lamar Alexander.....	4	2	5	3	
Fred Thompson ¹	NA	5	7	3	
Someone else/none (VOL) ²	NA	6	6	5	
Not sure.....	13	9	7	9	

¹ Prior to January 1998, the list of potential candidates included Fred Thompson.

² In September 1997, John Kasich was also included; the 2% of the respondents who said they would vote for Kasich are combined with the results for "someone else/none."

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE DEMOCRATS IN Q.17a.)

- 17c. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Democratic primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	All Democrats				
	1/98	9/97	7/97	4/97	
Al Gore.....	45	47	52	56	[178]
Bill Bradley.....	14	13	11	9	
Richard Gephardt.....	8	7	8	6	
Bob Kerrey.....	4	5	4	4	
Jesse Jackson ¹	NA	9	9	8	
Someone else/none (VOL).....	NA	5	7	11	
Not sure.....	29	14	9	6	

¹ Prior to January 1998, the list of potential candidates included Jesse Jackson.

18. Now I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one of the following do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	1/98	10/97	1/95	12/94	10/94	9/94	6/94	12/93	6/93	12/92	5/92	9/91+	
The federal budget deficit.....	22	23	32	30	30	27	30	25	28	24	22	21	[179]
Unemployment.....	21	21	27	30	32	34	35	40	40	46	46	37	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	19	15	10	10	8	9	8	7	8	10	8	8	
Federal taxes.....	15	20	13	11	12	11	11	11	11	5	5	7	
Inflation.....	7	10	7	9	8	10	6	6	6	6	7	11	
Interest rates.....	4	3	5	6	3	4	5	2	2	3	2	3	
All equally important (VOL).....	7	5	4	2	6	3	4	7	4	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	4	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

19. Currently, the Dow Jones Industrial Average is around 7700¹ points. Which do you feel is more likely to occur by the end of 1998--the Dow Jones Industrial Average will go up to nine thousand, or it will drop down to sixty-five hundred?

	1/98*	7/97	
Will go up to 9,000.....	39	45	[180]
Will drop down to 6,500.....	33	34	
Depends (VOL).....	6	4	
Both (VOL).....	-	1	
Not sure.....	22	16	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹ In July of 1997 the Dow Jones Industrial Average was around 8000 points.

20a. Do you think that the recent economic problems in Asia will have a major effect on the U.S. economy this year, a minor effect, or no effect on the U.S. economy this year?*

Have a major effect.....	27	[208]
Have a minor effect.....	57	
Have no effect.....	8	
Not sure.....	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

20b. Should the United States participate with the International Monetary Fund and other nations in a plan to lend money to countries that suffer financial collapse, such as South Korea and Indonesia? ¹

	<u>1/98**</u>	<u>12/97</u>	
Yes, U.S. should participate.....	38	34	[209]
No, U.S. should not participate.....	48	51	
Depends (VOL).....	6	8	
Not sure.....	8	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

¹ In December 1997, the question read "Thailand" instead of "Indonesia."

20c. When it comes to economic power, which country is in a stronger position – the U.S. or Japan?

	<u>1/98**</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/90</u>	
The United States.....	66	54	47	+	+	[210]
Japan.....	24	37	44	26	20	
About equal (VOL).....	4	2	3	66	73	
Not sure.....	6	7	6	3	3	
				5	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked of registered voters.

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about Social Security and Medicare.

21a. When it comes to dealing with Social Security, which party do you think would do a better job – the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

	<u>1/98*</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>10/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>11/94</u>	
Democratic Party.....	26	33	36	44	35	32	[211]
Republican Party.....	15	19	24	22	26	27	
Both the same.....	34	18	17	14	16	15	
Neither.....	18	22	15	14	15	16	
Not sure.....	7	8	8	6	8	10	
PARTY ADVANTAGE.....	D-11	D-14	D-12	D-22	D-9	D-5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 21b. When it comes to dealing with Medicare, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

	<u>1/98*</u> *	<u>9/97</u>	<u>10/96</u>	<u>5/96+</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	
Democratic Party.....	30	34	34	45	44	33	[212]
Republican Party.....	14	16	20	26	24	22	
Both the same.....	37	25	24	12	13	18	
Neither.....	14	20	16	11	13	19	
Not sure.....	5	5	6	6	6	8	
PARTY ADVANTAGE.....	D-16	D-18	D-14	D-19	D-20	D-11	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 22a. Most people agree that there are three basic approaches to fixing problems with the Social Security system. If you had to choose, which one would you prefer -- increasing Social Security payroll taxes, reducing Social Security benefits for upper-income recipients, or raising the retirement age for Social Security benefits from sixty-five to sixty-seven years of age.

Increasing Social Security payroll taxes.....	17	[213]
Reducing Social Security benefits for upper-income recipients.....	52	
Raising the retirement age from 65 to 67 years of age.....	19	
Not sure.....	12	

- 22b. Which of these two options on Medicare would you favor:

Statement A: Keep Medicare as it is now and provide coverage only for those age sixty-five and over.

Statement B: Revise Medicare by allowing people age fifty-five and over to purchase coverage, but raise the age for receiving full benefits to age sixty-seven.*

Statement A/Keep Medicare as it is now.....	43	[214]
Statement B/Revise Medicare.....	46	
Not sure.....	11	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 22c. President Clinton has proposed allowing people age sixty-two to sixty-four to participate in Medicare if they pay a monthly premium, and giving people as young as age fifty-five the right to buy Medicare coverage if they have lost their job. He says this step is necessary to help people who have trouble getting private insurance. Republicans say Medicare is already in financial trouble and that it's too costly to add new people to a system that can't handle them. Who do you agree with more on this issue--President Clinton or the Republicans?**

Agree with President Clinton.....	48	[215]
Agree with the Republicans.....	39	
Some of both (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 22d. President Clinton has proposed a plan by which some people over the age of fifty-five can purchase early Medicare coverage -- do you favor or oppose this proposal?*

Favor.....	63	[216]
Oppose.....	24	
Not sure.....	13	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 22e. If people are allowed to buy early Medicare coverage at age 62, do you think that these people should or should not have to pay a higher premium once they turn 65 to cover all the projected costs to the Medicare system?

Should have to pay higher premium.....	23	[217]
Should not have to pay higher premium.....	65	
Not sure.....	12	

23. In order to preserve the Social Security system, do you think that the federal government should offer special incentives to get people to work longer and retire later?

Federal government should offer special incentives.....	55	[218]
Federal government should not offer special incentives....	37	
Not sure.....	8	

- 24a. As you may know, the United States has allowed limited trade relations on food and medicine with other unfriendly countries, but not Cuba. Do you favor or oppose the United States government allowing limited trade with Cuba on food and medicine while Fidel Castro is in power?*

Favor.....	47	[219]
Oppose.....	43	
Not sure.....	10	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 24b. When it comes to Pope John Paul the Second's visit to Cuba--do you feel that it will contribute to the opening up of Cuba?

Yes, it will contribute to the opening up of Cuba.....	43	[220]
No, it will not contribute to the opening up of Cuba..	40	
Not sure.....	17	

- 24c. If Cuban leader Fidel Castro makes gestures toward democracy following the visit of Pope John Paul the Second, should the United States form new ties and relations with Cuba?*

The U.S. should form new ties and relations with Cuba.....	52	[221]
The U.S. should not form new ties and relations with Cuba ..	30	
Depends (VOL).....	12	
Not sure.....	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 25a. As you may know, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein still has not fully complied with United Nations inspections for chemical and biological weapons materials. Do you think that the United States should continue to rely on diplomatic negotiations, or should the United States use military force to resolve this matter with Iraq?*

U.S. should rely on diplomatic negotiations.....	42	[222]
U.S. should use military force.....	47	
Depends (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 25b. Do you think that the United States should use military force against Iraq even if no other countries do, or do you think that the United States should use military force only if other countries also agree to join the effort?

	<u>1/98*</u>	<u>11/17/97</u>	
U.S. should use military force even if no other countries do so.....	30	37	[223]
U.S. should not use military force if no other countries also join the effort	57	54	
U.S. should not use military force (VOL).....	8	3	
Not sure.....	5	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 25c. As you may know, Iran's new president has expressed regret over the 1979 taking of American hostages, and has expressed a desire to have better relations with the American people. Do you think that the U.S. should or should not open discussions with Iran?*

U.S. should open discussions with Iran.....	66	[224]
U.S. should not open discussions with Iran.....	27	
Depends (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 26a. Do you think that health maintenance organizations, or HMOs, have or have not reduced the cost of health care services?*

HMOs have reduced the cost of health care.....	31	[225]
HMOs have not reduced the cost of health care.....	54	
Not sure.....	15	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 26b. Do you think that health maintenance organizations, or HMOs, have improved the quality of health care services, have made the quality of health care services worse, or have they not had much effect either way on the quality of health care services today?*

HMOs have improved the quality of health care.....	16	[226]
HMOs have made the quality of health care services worse.	45	
HMOs have not had much effect either way on the quality of health care services.....	28	
Not sure.....	11	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 26c. Currently, the federal government's National Institutes of Health provides thirteen billion dollars of grants to research centers, universities, and hospitals for research, prevention, and treatment of diseases such as cancer, heart disease, AIDS, and diabetes. Would you favor or oppose a proposal over the next five years to double the National Institutes of Health's research budget?*

Favor.....	64	[227]
Oppose.....	25	
Depends (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Getting near the end of this survey, let me ask you questions on some other subjects.

27. If Ted Kaczynski, the man on trial for being the so-called Unabomber, is convicted, do you feel that he should or should not be given the death penalty?

Kaczynski should be given the death penalty.....	61	[228]
Kaczynski should not be given the death penalty.....	30	
Not sure.....	9	

28. Do you think that the death penalty should be applied equally to men and women who are convicted of murder?**

Yes, death penalty should be equally applied.....	87	[229]
No, death penalty should not be equally applied.....	9	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

29. Do you favor or oppose an outright ban on the cloning of human beings?*

Favor.....	58	[230]
Oppose.....	36	
Not sure.....	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

30. Who deserves greater priority in the Rose Garden - Socks, the cat or Buddy, the dog?

Socks.....	30	[231]
Buddy.....	34	
Not sure.....	36	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	10	[232-233]
25-29.....	9	
30-34.....	10	
35-39.....	12	
40-44.....	11	
45-49.....	10	
50-54.....	8	
55-59.....	7	
60-64.....	5	
65 and over.....	17	
Refused.....	1	

- F2. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	[234-235]
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	29	
Some college, no degree.....	17	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	11	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	21	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

- F3. Are you currently employed?

(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/manager.....	23	[236-243]
White collar worker.....	20	
Blue collar worker.....	19	
Farmer.....	1	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	8	
Retired.....	20	
Unemployed.....	5	
Never worked/not sure.....	1	

- F4. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	7	[244]
Somewhat liberal.....	19	
Moderate.....	28	
Somewhat conservative.....	24	
Very conservative.....	9	
Views cannot be described in those terms....	11	
Not sure.....	2	

- F5. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	88	[245]
Not registered.....	11	
Not sure.....	1	

- F6. Did you happen to vote in the 1996 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote -- Bill Clinton, the Democrat, Bob Dole, the Republican, or Ross Perot, the Reform Party candidate?

<u>Yes, Voted</u>		[246]
Bill Clinton.....	43	
Bob Dole	26	
Ross Perot.....	7	
Other (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	3	
<u>No, Did Not Vote</u>	17	
<u>Not Sure If Voted/Refused</u>	4	

- F7. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	22	[247]
Married.....	61	
Separated.....	1	
Widowed.....	6	
Divorced.....	9	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

- F8. Do you have any children under age 18 currently living in your household?

Yes, kids under 18 in household.....	37	[248]
No, no kids under 18 in household.....	62	
Not sure.....	1	

F9. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	56	CONTINUE	[249]
Catholic.....	30		
Jewish.....	2		
Other.....	6	SKIP TO Q.F11	
None.....	4		
Not sure/refused.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F9.)

F10. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Yes, fundamentalist/evangelical.....	18	[250]
No, neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	34	
Not sure.....	4	
Non-Protestants (Q.F9).....	44	

F11. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	11	[251]
Labor union household.....	7	
Nonunion household.....	81	
Not sure.....	1	

F12. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

(IF NO:) What is your race—white, black, Asian, or something else?

Hispanic.....	7	[252]
White.....	80	
Black.....	9	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F13. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	4	[253]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	8	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	13	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	13	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	12	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	18	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	8	
More than \$100,000.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	16	